[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

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*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] [123] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [147] [571] [829] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic living together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions, the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct," or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc., all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[698] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
● [156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I. toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent to which this condition makes an individual a person more demanding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas (some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have less reason to do military service.

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*177 369 582 562 563 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman. The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals [628] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 182 571 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process. [156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking